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SPECIAL REPORT

SAIONJI-HARADA MEMOIRS

PART XI

"SHADOWS OF COMING EVENTS"

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Major, Field Artillery
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Saionji - Harada Memoirs

Chapter 229
(31 January 1937)

Hayashi Succeeds Hirota

Translated by Lieut. Taichi Nishihara

On the morning of the 19th, I attended a general assembly of the Koseikai and went to Okitsu on the 1:30 P.M. train. I spoke to the Prince about the general situation. The Prince said: "I believe that it might be better if the Government decided to dissolve the Diet. However, I wonder if that is possible." I concluded my report and returned to Tokyo the same day.

The Premier attended the session on the 21st and reported on administrative policy. He also explained the general views of the Government in regard to foreign policy. There were to be speeches by the Premier and the Foreign and Finance Ministers that afternoon in the House of Representatives, so I went in when the Finance Minister was about half through. I met the Premier at his official residence before the opening of the session of the House of Peers and he said: "I intend to take a stand according to the general situation. According to the War Minister, it was decided that MAZAKI should be acquitted."

In the session of the House of Representatives, War Minister TERAUCHI replied to the questions of HAMADA, Kunumatsu concerning the administrative policy of the Government: "It seemed to me that there was some sort of insult to the Imperial Army in your questions, so I would like to caution you on that point." Using this opportunity, the members became uproarious; HAMADA retreated and the situation became very difficult, but business proceeded and HAMADA's questions ceased. When

the next person took over, I returned home.

Since the atmosphere at that time was rather unusual, I called up MATSUDAIRA, Chief Secretary to the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal and said: "How about coming over to my place and we'll see how things work out?" He came over and we spoke of many things. We called up the Cabinet about 6:30 and were told: "The session ended about 6:10 but the Cabinet members are remaining behind. About 8:00 a Cabinet Conference will be held and Premier HIROTA will go to the Palace."

Therefore Chief Secretary to the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal MATSUDAIRA immediately called the Office of the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal and informed it that Premier HIROTA would visit the Palace soon. At the same time MATSUDAIRA left for the Palace. At 10:50 P.M. Premier HIROTA left the Palace, returned to the Diet about 11:00 P.M and opened a Cabinet conference. It was decided that an Imperial edict for the prorogation of the Diet would be presented. The purpose of the visit of Premier HIROTA to the Emperor was to seek the Imperial edict after it had been decided at the Cabinet Conference earlier to petition the Emperor for prorogation.

I met the Premier at his official residence at 12:01 and he said: "We petitioned for a three day prorogation and presented it for Imperial sanction. The Emperor said: 'See that friction between the military does not become serious.' The Government also desires to act prudently so that there will be no friction among the military. I am thinking of deciding on this at tomorrow's session."

I went to Okitsu on the 22nd by the Tsubame and

reported to the Prince. The Prince said: "I wonder if they will dissolve after a two-day prorogation." Thereupon I said: 'If there is a prorogation, dissolution may be very difficult. Recently, during the period of the WAKATSUKI Cabinet, they decided to have a prorogation prior to dissolution and there was a three day prorogation. When I mentioned this to you, you said: 'If there is going to be a prorogation, there will not be a dissolution.' I believe that this is a like situation..... The Prince just laughed at this.

I returned on the 22nd and reported to the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal at his official residence. That night I was invited to a dinner party at the British Embassy and I attended.

On the 22nd there was a Cabinet Conference at 10:00 A.M. at the official residence of the Premier, and it was decided to face the Diet with a plan to dissolve it. This Conference lasted until about 11:30. About 6:00 P.M. of the same day, Vice-Minister UMEZU visited Vice-Minister of the Navy YAMAMOTO and about 7:00 P.M. Commerce Minister OGAWA met with President MACHIDA of the Minseito and SAKURAUCHI.

It seems that Commerce Minister OGAWA met with Railways Minister MAEDA about 7:00 and met SAKURAUCHI again at the headquarters of the Minseito. About 10:30, Commerce Minister OGAWA visited Navy Minister NAGANO, and about 11:30 both Navy Minister NAGANO and Commerce Minister OGAWA visited MACHIDA, President of the Minseito.

I met the Premier on the 22nd and he said: "The War Minister desires dissolution; he said: 'I am desirous of having this Cabinet last as long as possible. This

incident will probably be settled by the middle of February. By the 1st of March, transfers will be completed and there will have been some action on the renovation of the Army. So I would like to have the Cabinet continue until then. Because of this I would like a dissolution in order to facilitate the renovation of the Army.' In other words War Minister TERAUCHI advocated dissolution when the Cabinet Conference began. There are some party members of the Cabinet who say that they will endorse dissolution but who wish to handle ensuing matters. In general there is no opposition to dissolution. Although there was agreement upon the matter of dissolution, there must be some consideration given as to what incidents may happen after this.

"The Navy Minister said: 'I have some plans of my own, but I shall make them known after speaking with War Minister TERAUCHI. Wouldn't it be best to observe closely just how the trends of the political parties run and then decide upon dissolution?' It seemed as if he were very hesitant about it. I related to him the frank conversation I had with the War Minister. He had called it: 'A dissolution for the renovation of the Army.' The Navy Minister replied: 'If that is the case, then I shall think it over again.'"

Accordingly, it was decided that after the Navy Minister and the War Minister had met on the morning of the following day, the 23rd, they would hold a Cabinet Conference.

Furthermore, the Premier went on: "There was a secret message from Ambassador to Britain YOSHIDA which went: 'I believe that relations between Britain and

Japan are steadily improving. I have some desires on this point. First of all, the British Government has come to attach importance to Anglo-Japanese relations. Secondly, there is very strong desire for Anglo-Japanese cooperation on the China matter. Thirdly, they are showing support for the objective of developing Anglo-Japanese commercial relations. (Anglo-Japanese commercial relations include not only those between Britain and Japan, but also Anglo-Japanese competition in other markets.) Fourthly, they consider the development of Japanese trade as a menace. Fifthly, they have shown preparation to reply on the matter of low interest Japanese bonds through a conference.' There is such a message from Ambassador YOSHIDA to the Foreign Minister. If we can proceed on such a course, I believe that the general outlook will be very good."

At 1:00 A.M. of the 23rd, Navy Minister NAGANO called upon SUZUKI, President of the Seiyukai, at his home and had a conference, together with HATOYAMA. About 7:00 A.M. Vice-Minister of the Navy YAMAMOTO visited Vice-Minister UMEZU, and about 9:00 A.M. Chief of the Military Affairs Bureau ISOGAI called upon Chief of the Naval Affairs Bureau TOYODA at the Navy Ministry. About 11:00 A.M. Deputy Chief of the General Staff NISHIO and Inspector General of Military Training SUGIYAMA visited War Minister TERAUCHI.

On my return to Tokyo from Okitsu on the evening of the 22nd, the Chief of the Tokyo Kempeitai came and said: "The War Minister has refused to meet with the Navy Minister on the morning of the 23rd. It seems that it is the desire of the Army to have Prince KONOYE come

out at this time. It also seems that there are movements between Vice-Minister UMEZU and the Commander of the Kempeitai (OITA faction) to support General MINAMI, which is not very pleasant."

About 11:50 A.M. on the 23rd there was a call from Premier HIROTA which went: "Please come over immediately." So I went to the official residence of the Premier and he said: "The Navy Minister is acting as an individual and it seems as if there may be some chance. The Army is firmly advocating dissolution and will not change. There are other very complicated matters and it is very troublesome. There are such things as the attitude of some party Ministers and also there have been all sorts of debates within the Cabinet.

"We have come along successfully from the time of the Imperial command after the crisis of the February 26 Incident, but I feel as if the Imperial command cannot be fulfilled further because of the present situation and that resignation en bloc is appropriate at this time. I have really caused the Prince a great deal of trouble. Please convey this decision. It would be very unpleasant to have the War and Navy Ministers dispute in the forthcoming Cabinet Conference. I have the intention of agreeing to open the Cabinet Conference when everyone has concurred. That is, I will call in the Cabinet members individually before the Conference and have them understand my views."

The Cabinet Conference was scheduled to open at 1:30 but, as the Premier had told me, he called in the Cabinet members prior to it and explained his decision for resignation en bloc. The Cabinet conference was

finally opened at around 3:30 and it was decided then that there would be a resignation en bloc. The Cabinet Conference ended about 4:30 and before going to the Palace the Premier told me: "I am going to the Palace to report to His Majesty that there will be a resignation en bloc."

The Premier went to the Palace and presented his resignation at 4:50. After I had called up Okitsu and informed the Prince about the resignation of the Cabinet, I went to the Palace about 5:30. There I met the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal, the Grand Chamberlain and the Chief Secretary of the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal at the Office of the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal. It was decided that a messenger bearing the message of the Grand Chamberlain in accordance with the request of the Emperor concerning who was to be the next premier would leave for the Prince's place at Okitsu at 8:30 the following morning. I left Shizuoka on the 7:30 express for Okitsu and met the Prince about 11:40 P.M. I spoke to him of the resignation of the Cabinet. I told him that a messenger would be sent bearing a letter from the Grand Chamberlain stating the Emperor's wish, and that he would leave tonight and reach Okitsu at 8:30 the next morning.

Thinking the matter over, I remembered that I had met War Minister TERAUCHI in the lobby prior to the meeting of the House of Peers on the 21st. He had said: "This definitely calls for dissolution. There is no other way.... MAZAKI was finally acquitted." It seemed that if there was no dissolution the War Minister could not control the Ministry.

Hayashi Succeeds Hirota

I went to the residence of the Prince at 8:30 A.M. on the 24th. Just then a minor official of the Board of Chamberlains of the Imperial Household Ministry had arrived as the messenger. I met him, received the letter from the Grand Chamberlain, and presented it to the Prince. The Prince said: "Write out a receipt and tell the Grand Chamberlain that I will give a reply by telephone after speaking in detail with HARADA."

Therefore I wrote out the receipt for the Prince and also a letter explaining this to the Grand Chamberlain. I immediately called up the Grand Chamberlain, the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal and the Chief Secretary to the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal and said: "The Prince has been ill since ten days ago and is confined to bed. It is impossible for him to go to Tokyo according to the Imperial summons, so with the permission of the Emperor I wish to ask the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal to come to Okitsu."

The Grand Chamberlain immediately called back and said: "I was received in audience by the Emperor and I reported the facts. The Emperor gave his approval."

The Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal thought that it might be better to listen to the views of President of the Privy Council HIRANUMA. so he immediately called upon President HIRANUMA at his private residence. He listened to HIRANUMA's views on the next premier. He left on a local train about 10:00 and reached Okitsu about 3:40. He immediately came to the residence of the Prince.

I ushered the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal into the waiting room and later to the Prince's bedside.

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They spoke for forty minutes. He left on the 4:42 train for Tokyo. He reached there at 7:45 and immediately went to the Palace. The Prince had entrusted the reply to the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal and the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal had presented the name of General UGAKI.

General UGAKI was then at the hot-springs at Nagaoka and immediately upon receipt of the Imperial summons he left Numazu on the train at 10:00, reaching Tokyo at 12:30. He immediately went to the Palace and reported: "After observing the situation for three or four days, I shall make a very careful reply."

As soon as the extra came out to the effect that General UGAKI had received the Imperial mandate, the Army arose in opposition. Upon this matter of recommending General UGAKI to head the Cabinet, the Prince had investigated thoroughly and the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal had also given it much consideration. I too had previously considered such people as Inspector General of Military Training SUGIYAMA, War Minister TERAUCHI, Lt. General NAKAMURA, Kotaro and others as possible choices to head the Cabinet. I had also gone to the Navy and asked how SUETSUGU or General MINAMI would be. Then, at the Army, of how UGAKI would be. The Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal had also been considering may possibilities.

War Minister TERAUCHI and Inspector General of Military Training SUGIYAMA had said: "There is no such idea as that UGAKI is totally unacceptable. UGAKI is all right." War Minister TERAUCHI had said: "We cannot adopt a waiting policy. We should announce to the world

clearly that 'UGAKI has such a policy and is going to proceed this way.'" The Inspector General of Military Training had said: "I believe that it is rather risky, but if UGAKI should stay quiet, it would be all right."

The young leaders had been saying that there was no one other than KONOYE. When KONOYE had been approached by men who gathered at my place he had declined, but since he could not evade the question he had said that if he should receive the Imperial mandate he must proceed to carry it out, even at the risk of his life. Therefore there were many men who said that KONOYE had the will to accept. They are thinking that KIDO and ourselves, particularly Prince SAIONJI, are afraid to have KONOYE accept and that we are keeping him back.

However, every time KONOYE met KIDO or myself, he would say: "Please arrange it so that I will not be selected. I do not want it." Again, as on the night of the 26th, KONOYE's private secretary was sent to Okitsu and he said: "There are many rumors, but KONOYE is really at a loss. When he said that if he received the Imperial command, there would be no alternative, some people construed it to mean that he was prepared to accept and it is a source of great worry. Please take care of this matter."

When the situation became such that UGAKI was to receive the Imperial command, the political parties, the zaibatsu and almost all the people were greatly in favor of UGAKI for the position. He was very popular.

On the other hand, this precipitated a very resentful feeling among the military, and it seems that they

took it to constitute a threat against them and began various maneuvers so that UGAKI would be unable to serve. In order not to encroach upon the supreme authority or to impede the supreme power, the military aides secretly obtained the views of the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal and also of the Chief Secretary. The 'Big Three' had recommended and searched for men, but everyone individually had refused to be considered (for ministries of War and Navy).

General UGAKI had repeatedly asked: "Aren't there more than those of the three - that is, other candidates besides those mentioned by the 'Big Three'?" However, because of the age limit and for other reasons, they said that there were no others and finally virtually obstructed it.

From the 24th until the morning of the 29th UGAKI sought the reconsideration of the Army by various means and endeavored to comply with the Imperial command, but finally it ended in the impossible situation that he had to decline.

On the 28th General UGAKI resigned his position as a general of the Army, saying: "I made strenuous efforts but because of my unworthiness I failed and the Imperial command could not be fulfilled." In other words, he declined through force of circumstances. On the afternoon of the 29th he went to the Imperial Palace, apologized, and declined. The Emperor was very sympathetic with General UGAKI, and very graciously said: "Please do your utmost for the nation from now on...." I heard this from the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal.

When it became inevitable that General UGAKI would

decline the Imperial command, there were again very strong efforts to swing the Imperial command to Prince KONOYE. Listening to information from MATSUDAIRA of the Office of the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal and other sources, and also over the telephone and from personal conversations, the matters which seem to trouble them most are finance and economic problems. They are saying: "Something should be done so that we will not fall into malignant inflation. In more definite terms, it is necessary to destroy the BABA economy. There is nothing so dangerous as the BABA economy." While these opinions were being expressed UGAKI's opinions made a very good impression upon the financial world, but they could not be utilized. It was the general opinion that a very capable finance minister was needed in the succeeding cabinet. In this connection, HIRANUMA and others were mentioned, since in the end, UGAKI had to decline.

About this time there was a call for me. The message went: "There is to be an Imperial request; is the Prince still confined to bed? If so, and if a trip to Tokyo is not feasible at this time, His Majesty will dispatch the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal to the Prince...." The Prince's reply was: "I will receive him at any time. It is very presumptuous of me, but I cannot go to Tokyo and I would like to ask your pardon."

The Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal left Tokyo on the 1:30 train on the 29th and again met the Prince in his bedroom about 4:40. After having discussed the matter of a succeeding cabinet, it was decided that President of the Privy Council HIRANUMA would be the first nominee and General HAYASHI the second. The Lord Keeper

of the Privy Seal left Shizuoka on the 6:16 Tsubame and immediately upon arrival in Tokyo went to the Imperial Palace and reported to the Throne upon the contents of Prince SAIONJI's reply.

He also said to the Emperor that before the Imperial command is given, the true opinion of the individual concerned should be ascertained, since it would be vexing to have him decline. Thereupon the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal immediately left the Palace and went to the private residence of HIRANUMA, President of the Privy Council, and explained the situation. HIRANUMA had previously told the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal: "Since there are incidents such as the Prince KONOYE affair, there would be no excuse for declining the Imperial command which was given suddenly. Therefore there is a necessity to ascertain the true intentions of the one selected."

Therefore the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal had taken this precaution, but HIRANUMA said: "I am not of that intention. My desire is to serve the Throne as the President of the Privy Council. Furthermore, if in the future there should be a conflict between the rightists and the leftists, I believe that it would be most appropriate for me to serve the Throne in my present position. I wish to decline, as I am an unsuitable choice for premier at this time." The Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal returned to the Palace and reported. The Imperial command then was given to General HAYASHI and he immediately went to the Imperial Palace. He was granted an extension of time and left the Palace. The military had vigorously attacked General UGAKI and had incurred the

wrath of the people; in view of this general ill-feeling the military immediately took a very calm attitude over this matter. General HAYASHI established his headquarters to form a cabinet at Hirao in Azabu and with the aid of SOGO and TAKAHASHI began the formation of a cabinet.

Saionji - Harada Memoirs

Chapter 230
(10 February 1937)

Hayashi's Cabinet

Translated by Lieut. Taichi Nishihara

In view of the situation in Tokyo, Premier HAYASHI's chief aim was: "The selection of War and Navy Ministers should not be left to the Army and the Navy; for War Minister, the Chief of Staff of the Kwantung Army, ITAGAKI, and for Navy Minister, Admiral SUETSUGU." According to the telephone call I had from KONOYE, men such as SUGO would not deal with this problem and were only concerned over the forming of the Cabinet. However, Premier HAYASHI is very persistent on this matter.

MATSUDAIRA, the Chief Secretary to the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal, called me and said: "KONOYE called up the Office of the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal and asked: 'Why not appoint ITAGAKI and SUETSUGU?' It is a very vexing matter." Previously, General SUGIYAMA had said, through former Foreign Minister ARITA: "Prince KONOYE is all right but he will probably come out upon the condition of setting up ITAGAKI and SUETSUGU in the Army and the Navy." The leaders of the military were very much concerned over this because it was a very difficult problem from the standpoint of control.

Therefore, the matter of Prince KONOYE coming out - that is, the worry as to whether the Imperial command would be given to KONOYE - was a serious one for the military leaders. They had also been aware that there was fear that General HAYASHI also was of their persuasion, so they had been desirous of a non-military man - that is, a civil official - being given the Imperial command, and that seems to have been the point. Frankly

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speaking, the Army has never desired anything which would destroy their control. I had spoken to the Prince of all these factors in Tokyo at his place through the Minaguchiya.

The most serious problems were those of finance and the economic situation. There was need of a person who would be able to make a considerable revision in the BABA economy if the country were to escape from this crisis. Trustworthy men such as YUKI and IKEDA of financial circles became the central figures, and since it was time to face the situation, I called up YUKI and said: "Haven't there been any overtures from the Premier?" He replied that there had not been. Therefore I told him: "If there should be overtures it may seem unsatisfactory to you to have HAYASHI as a colleague or as the head of the Cabinet. However, in these critical times, when finance and economics are the most important matters, I firmly believe that it is your duty to accept the position if it is offered to you." YUKI replied: "If there is occasion for it, I shall give it serious thought." I told the Prince that I believed that YUKI would accept if the position were offered.

It is not very clear just who is the key figure in the preparations for forming the HAYASHI cabinet. Someone said that SOGO was the central figure; there are many views about him and I was greatly worried. Later I heard that KAWADA, Retsu and OHASHI, Hachiro were at his Cabinet formation headquarters and was greatly relieved.

I called KAWADA's home and since he was there I

told him: "Please try to get as good men as possible." He replied: "I have just recuperated and I am wondering. I have been offered a post but I do not intend to accept it. We must respect the views of Prince KONOYE and I wish to inquire about them. As to KAWARADA for Home Minister - I'm wondering whether he is the choice of KONOYE."

I then said to KAWADA: "Since it may inconvenience Prince KONOYE, we must make certain whether he is Prince CONOYE's choice or not. It may be that he is but it may also be that some outsiders are pushing him. We must give the matter very serious consideration even when people say that it is the word of Prince KONOYE, for although he is a man of high rank, there are points in his character where he is very weak. We must be very careful because there have been occasions when he has unconsciously said irresponsible things. These things may seem superfluous, but since it is you, I am saying them."

Later, I called Prince KONOYE and told him of the talk I had with KAWADA. He replied: "No, I had never thought of KAWARADA as the Home Minister. I had thought of him as a possible Director of the Bureau of Legislation, but if he is to be the Home Minister, he should be very happy. However, he is unreliable at some points and we must have a man who is trustworthy. I have never thought of making him Home Minister."

I spoke of this again to KAWADA and I also told him: "YOSHIDA, who once said that he was a relative of Prince KONOYE, is acting like the personal secretary of Premier HAYASHI, and we must be very careful, for he is a

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dangerous man." I also had him pass this on to OHASHI.

Gradually, the preparations for the formation of the Cabinet proceeded and it was conceded that ITAGAKI and SUETSUGU would not be included. Premier HAYASHI decided on Lt. General NAKAMURA, who was the choice of the 'Big Three', as the War Minister. The Navy Minister decided upon was Vice Admiral YONAI instead of the new selection of the Navy, Admiral FUJITA. In the meantime HAYASHI had had audiences with His Highness, Prince KAN-IN, and had repeatedly gone to see the Navy Minister. Finally, everything settled down.

The people who had been hesitant until the decision on the War and Navy Ministers, for instance YUKI, now came forward; YUKI was to accept the post of Finance Minister. When the general public heard that YUKI would occupy this post it was greatly relieved and it seemed as if the most dangerous point had been passed. The anxities of financial circles concerning the HAYASHI Cabinet were not dispelled.

It was rumored that President TSUDA of Kanebo would become the Minister of Commerce and Industry, but he declined and GODO, Takao accepted. Previously there had been mention of NAKAJIMA, Chikuhei and NAGAI, Ryutaro, but they were very dissatisfied with the HAYASHI Cabinet because the military leaders would not permit ITAGAKI to enter it. Finally, both NAKAJIMA and NAGAI declined the post due to conditions in the political parties, etc.

Therefore GOTO joined the Cabinet. YAMAZAKI, Tatsunosuke became the Minister of Agriculture and Forestry and concurrently the Communications Minister.

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YUKI became the Finance Minister and concurrently the Overseas Minister. Minister of Commerce and Industry GOTO was also concurrently the Railways Minister.

Suddenly SOGO left the headquarters for the formation of the Cabinet. According to the prevailing stories, he was the leader of the group whose conditions included ITAGAKI and SUETSUGU. When the Premier conceded and decided upon NAKAMURA and YONAI, he became very indignant and left. However, according to Prince KONOYE, the story was "It is better to have the Cabinet formed early, so it is not wise to adhere to ITAGAKI and SUETSUGU." I heard that he was an advocate of conciliation and that Premier HAYASHI was a very obstinate man, therefore I thought that there might be something wrong somewhere.

The Diet voluntarily demanded an adjournment from the 4th to the 10th. However, the House of Representatives complained and, attempting to put the responsibility upon the Cabinet, said this and that. Finally it was decided to petition the Emperor for a prorogation and the Government petitioned for a prorogation until the 10th.

The situation in the Finance Ministry could not be left as it was under the former Finance Minister, BABA, and there was a disposition to alleviate the worries of the people by changing the principal features. YUKI would put particular stress upon economic control measures and at the same time he placed the able taxation authority, ISHIWATARI, Sotaro in the position of Chief of the Taxation Bureau.

In relation to political aspects, the political

parties came out with strong words and showed themselves to be very antagonistic toward the Cabinet. The Cabinet itself was saying that it would not include any party members and that it must disassociate itself from party affiliations. It seemed as if the military were partly responsible for this and the situation was that the political parties did not seem very friendly towards the new Cabinet.

The Premier held the post of Foreign Minister concurrently and the Imperial Installation Ceremonies were completed on the 2nd. Things seemed to have calmed down and I observed the situation from Okitsu until the 8th, when I returned to Tokyo.

About 9:30 that night, Prince KONOYE came over to my place and we talked until about 12:30. According to him certain previous developments entered into the problem of placing ITAGAKI and SUETSUGU. The fact was that two or three years before, under the leadership of Col. ISHIHARA, Kanji, and with the use of MIYAZAKI of the Japan-Manchuria Economic Research Committee, including SOGO, a tentative five year plan had been drawn up. In the spring of last year, they wanted to have some influential man in financial circles look this over. It was a bulky plan for which the investigations had been thorough and it was one for the defense of the nation through Manchukuo, especially concerned with the perfection of national defense and of the air forces. The document was studied by IKEDA, Seihin, and revised by him. YUKI had also seen the document.

The idea of the central figure of the leaders from the Army, Col. ISHIHARA, which was also supported by the

Kwantung Army, was to have the essentials of this plan applied to the government. Its absolute conditions were to have IKEDA as the Finance Minister, ITAGAKI as the War Minister, SUETSUGU as the Navy Minister, and TSUDA, Shingo as the Minister of Commerce and Industry. Another condition was that an executive department would be set up and SOGO installed as its chief.

It seemed that he thought that the Imperial command might be given to him, and when he was shown the plans IKEDA said: "Such an ambitious plan cannot be carried out in five years. It would take at least seven or eight years. We must look at it as a ten year plan..." He revised it at many points, and when MIYAZAKI came to IKEDA s place, IKEDA said: "To realize such a plan the Finance Minister, the President of the Bank of Japan and the Minister of Commerce and Industry must agree. I believe that TSUDA, Shingo of Osaka would be good for the post of Minister of Commerce and Industry. I cannot become the Finance Minister because I am too ill. I may be able to hold the position of President of the Bank of Japan even from my bed, but I cannot become the Finance Minister."

He further said: "Isn't YUKI the most suitable man for the position of Finance Minister?" This was the origin of this idea.

This is confidential; the person who swallowed this plan whole and accepted it was General HAYASHI. ISHIHARA and the others thought that if HAYASHI were to come out they could do as they wished so they vigorously advocated General HAYASHI. However, in the final outcome, ITAGAKI, who was the common choice of the Kwantung

Army and the Navy, was not included and neither was SUETSUGU. SUGIYAMA finally quit and they felt great dissatisfaction toward General HAYASHI.

KONOYE said: "I called ISHIHARA over the day before yesterday and told him: 'You are saying bitter things against General HAYASHI but haven't you accomplished more than half of your aims? Why don't you be satisfied with the fact that YUKI became the Finance Minister and IKEDA the President of the Bank of Japan? You should remain silent and assist him.' To this, he replied: 'A case of condemn the man and accept the act, isn't it?' And then he left."

The following day I visited IKEDA and inquired about things and he said: "YUKI came over and said: 'I feel sorry for you, but please take over the position of President of the Bank of Japan.' There are obstacles to the concrete plans presented by ISHIHARA and we must proceed according to the international situation in the matter of the perfection of national defense, which the Army will demand.

"As for the economic mechanism, we must not break up the fundamentals of the present system. If certain things should happen and the Bank of Japan, which is the center of the credit system, should not handle the situation skilfully, danger would ensue. Since the matter of the credit system is very important to the nation, and since we must do as the powerful present leaders of the Army desire, I told YUKI the day before yesterday that I would consent. This was also because everything would be ruined if the present economic mechanism should be destroyed and because I cannot take

the matter of national defense too lightly. It is a very important matter and I believe that it is my duty to serve His Majesty. I should not go forward at this time, but I shall aid YUKI as much as I possibly can." Such were IKEDA's words and comparing them to what KONOYE had told me there is a great difference.

IKEDA said: "I do not say that TSUDA, Shingo is the only one for Minister of Commerce and Industry. For instance, ISHIHARA's messenger, MIYAZAKI, came and said: 'I believe in executing this plan and also in proceeding with respect to the present economic mechanism. The Finance Minister, the President of the Bank of Japan, and the Minister of Commerce and Industry must be of the same opinion. Just who would be best for Minister of Commerce and Industry?'

"I replied: 'From the standpoint of youth and ability, I believe that President TSUDA of Osaka Kanebo is best. He is a liberal economist and when he has to carry on administration it may be interesting.' I have no remembrance of saying that it had to be TSUDA. I was very dissatisfied with SOGO. I believe that it was very fortunate that SOGO withdrew. I had never even dreamed that one of the absolute conditions was that he be the Chief of the Executive Department. I really was dissatisfied with SOGO."

IKEDA went on: "When General HAYASHI received the Imperial command, MIYAZAKI came over early the following morning and said: 'General HAYASHI is to receive the Imperial command and won't you please become the Finance Minister? Please persuade TSUDA, Shingo to accept the post of Minister of Commerce and Industry.' I replied:

'I would like to decline the Finance Ministry because of my health as I told you previously. However, I believe that YUKI is the best and I would like to select him.'

"Later, I went to TSUDA's place but he declined. For these reasons a messenger came to my place the morning, following the Imperial command, with YUKI's request: 'Please become the President of the Bank of Japan....' When MIYAZAKI had come previously, I had said: 'Perhaps as the President of the Bank of Japan....' YUKI accepted with the intention of serving His Majesty and because of this I would like to help him as much as possible to avoid difficulties. I accepted with the single intention of serving the Emperor." We spoke on many aspects of the situation prior to and after the formation of the HAYASHI Cabinet.

On the evening of the 9th, I went to the place of the Premier for the first time to pay my respects. The Premier said: "I cannot apologize enough for the fact that an outsider - that is an amateur like myself - should come out at such a time, but my desire is to get things quiet as soon as possible and then give way to an experienced man. When I paid my respects at Ise recently, I meant to stop in at Prince SAIONJI's place but because I was sorely pressed by business I have not gone there yet. Please give my regards to the Prince. In the meantime, I shall try to go."

Therefore I told him: "Since the Prince is still confined to bed and is in no condition to meet people I believe that there is no hurry. Come at your convenience. It would be fine for you to come when you have an

opportunity."

After this the 5th Memorial Service was to be held for INOUYE, Junnosuke at the Tokyo Kaikan, so I attended. I accidentally met AOKI of the Manchukuo Affairs Bureau. Later AOIKI said to me: "I wish to speak with you, so let us go somewhere together." Therefore we went to the Kuwana and talked of various things until about 10:30.

AOKI said: "Before coming to the Tokyo Kaikan, I was listening to Lt. Col. KATAKURA until about 5:00 and it seems that when the Cabinet was being organized, Premier HAYASHI had President of the Privy Council HIRANUMA suggest seven or eight men as Cabinet members. There were many who did not amount to anything and Manchukuo's TANABE, Tsunemichi and the Judicial Ministry's SHIONO were suggested, and KOBAYASHI, Shosaburo was suggested as the Overseas Minister. The suggestion of KOBAYASHI was indeed a very insincere act and General HAYASHI was very indignant. After this his relations with HIRANUMA became more distant and it does not seem too good."

Furthermore, AOKI said: "SOGO was working hard for the formation of the Cabinet and the reason for his leaving the headquarters was that General HAYASHI had asked him to leave. The reason was not that ITAGAKI and SUETSUGU were not included in the HAYASHI Cabinet. I don't know what sort of relation it is, but there is a certain gangster (ronin) attached to General HAYASHI by the name of IWATA, Ainosuke. He said: 'SOGO is trying to ruin the HAYASHI Cabinet. If he does not leave the Cabinet formation headquarters today, I shall kill him.' General HAYASHI felt sorry that SOGO might be killed by IWATA and also thought that it would be very bothersome,

so he told SOGO to leave and had him resign.

"Furthermore, Lt. Col. KaTAKURA said: 'The original choice of the Army was General SUGIYAMA. There was no especially strong feeling for ITAGAKI. Because of his relation with Gen. UGAKI, Gen. SUGIYAMA could not accept it from a moral standpoint and declined. That is why Lt. Gen. NAKAMURA was selected.' These things indicate that the Army seems to have weakened and it seems to be very concerned. The source of trouble is as before: Col. ISHIHARA. I believe that the War Ministry's ISHIMOTO, Machijiri and TANAKA, that is men of section-head caliber, are all back of ISHIHARA.

"Even at the time of Gen. UGAKI, Chief of the Military Affairs Bureau ISOGAI said: 'ISHIHARA is being stirred by these section chiefs; there was no objection from Vice-Minister UMEZU and other higher officials to UGAKI. The March Incident was not very important.' When he was asked whether UGAKI was absolutely objectionable, he replied: 'No, not absolutely, but the time is not ripe. If he had come out a year later it would have been all right.' Such was the explanation and the leaders of the Army were very much weakened."

Furthermore, AOKI went on: "Some leaders of the Army come to [illegible] place and I will endeavor to explain gradually and also to have them understand things. Let us meet again." And we parted.

Late that night the new War Minister, Lt. NAKAMURA was stricken with typhoid fever and the situation was that he had to rest for two months. The Diet is to convene and the War Minister should attend because of the budget, etc., which is to be discussed at the Cabinet

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Conferences, but he cannot. The Army was very much concerned and it placed the once-refused Inspector-General of Military Training, SUGIYAMA, in the office of War Minister. It also had the former War Minister, TERAUCHI, become the Inspector-General of Military Training.

On the morning of the 10th I attended a general meeting of the Koseikai; I went to Oiso on the afternoon train. At Shimbashi I was unexpectedly joined by Gen. TERAUCHI. Gen. TERAUCHI said: "I feel very sorry for Gen. UGAKI. It would have been very good if he had come out later, but MAZAKI had not been disposed of, it was a very difficult time for the Army, and this situation has ensued. MAZAKI was previously prosecuted for misconduct in office and he will be tried soon. At any rate such a thing will complete the renovation of the Army and I am of the intention of pushing this matter. I believe that things will be settled by the transfer of personnel in March." I spoke of ISHIHARA and the rest and Gen. TERAUCHI said: "First of all, it is very troublesome that people take ISHIHARA and the rest seriously. ISHIHARA has never made such statements to us and he is rather quiet. It is an odd story."

He did not seem to know anything about ISHIHARA and asked: "Just why did they present such a man as Gen. HAYASHI? That sort of soldier is very troublesome. However, there is nothing to do but to make the best of it." I told TERAUCHI that President of the Privy Council HIRANUMA had demanded this and that and also that he had pointed out certain men. Even Gen. TERAUCHI was very surprised at the mention of KOBAYASHI, Shosaburo for Overseas Minister and said: "Is HIRANUMA such a man?

That is very insincere." He also said: "Things would have been all right if there could have been a dissolution but Premier HIROTA was unable to take action so it was very regrettable."

About 7:30 P.M. on the 10th another four day prorogation was requested and the Diet was prorogued until the 14th.

Saionji - Harada Memoirs

Chapter 231
(19 February 1937)

Saionji's Desire To Retire

Translated by Lieut. Taichi Nishihara

I returned from Oiso on the evening of the 14th and went to visit Finance Minister YUKI early on the morning of the 15th. The Finance Minister said: "Unavoidably I am to take over the post this time and there was something I wanted to ask you. I am thinking of suggesting the present Imperial Household Minister, MATSUDAIRA, for Foreign Minister. What do you think?" I replied: "He would be excellent if the Army understood and did not interfere." The Finance Minister replied: "I had IWASAKI, Koyata ask him and he replied: 'It has not been very long since I became the Imperial Household Minister and I have taken my present position at the request of the Emperor. Therefore I think that it would be unpardonable to change at this time. However, if it is unavoidable due to force of circumstance....'

"This is beside the point, but I am wondering about it. I have asked Prince KONOYE to confer on the relationship of the Imperial Household Ministry with Marquis KIDO. I wonder what the opinion of the Genro is?" I said: "I don't think that there will be any particular objection. I think that it will be fine."

I stopped at the home of KONOYE and he said that that was a fine idea, but he was worried about the military.

I visited Home Minister KAWADA and talked about the situation. He said: "President of the Privy Council HIRANUMA is really a haphazard administrator. He really says irresponsible things and vigorously proposed such

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candidates as KOBAYASHI, Shosaburo, TANABE, Sanemichi, the present Minister of Justice, HIOKO, and four others at the time of the formation of the Cabinet. These men all look terrible." He seemed very indignant so I told him that he had better be careful on that point also.

Later I attended the Diet and there was a speech by the Premier, who was concurrently Foreign Minister, on the Administration's policy. There were questions by Baron SAKATANI and others on financial matters in the policy of the Administration, although there had not been any speech on finance by the Finance Minister. However, Finance Minister YUKI replied admirably and he was received favorably by the House of Peers.

In the afternoon I met the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal and he spoke of the matter of Imperial Household Minister MATSUDAIRA succeeding to the position of Foreign Minister. I said: "If there is no interference from the Army, I think that it would be fine." He also seemed to be thinking of him in terms of preparing him as a candidate for Premier.

However, the Army is not of the same opinion in the matter of MATSUDAIRA. As always, President of the Privy Council HIRANUMA is urging the Cabinet to install SHIRATORI as the Foreign Minister. On this point War Minister SUGIYAMA said: "It is not good to have the Vice-Minister become the Minister." Therefore the matter of the Foreign Minister is still an issue.

On the 15th, I met former Foreign Minister ARITA and listened to his views of the situation both before and after the fall of the Cabinet. It seems that the Cabinet was of the intention of dissolving the Diet

until the 22nd and that the fact that the Foreign Minister started to act independently without the knowledge of the Premier seemed to be the basis of matters takin that turn.

On the 16th I met Finance Minister YUKI at the House of Peers and he said: "I wonder just how a combination of MATSUDAI and SHIRATORI would be?" KONOYE's view was: "It would be rather difficult."

I met Navy Vice-Minister YAMAMOTO at the House of Peers and I told him: "This matter is still not finished; let us meet often, even in the morning."

On the afternoon of the 16th I again met the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal and the matter of the desires of Prince SAIONJI came up. He said: "I spoke of this matter to KIDO recently but no matter how I look at it this matter of the Prince declining to reply to an Imperial inquiry is not very good. Especially when the advisers to the Throne are so unsettled and when there seems to be strong movements from the outside to ruin the advisers. Of course, the faith of the Emperor in the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal is implicit, but it is very clear that it does not come up to his faith in the Prince. It will be very regrettable to have the Prince decline to reply or to resign the position of Genro and I cannot make this report.

"Not only this, but as I have mentioned before, because there seems to be movements to ruin the advisers, the mere presence of the Prince will give them strength. Should the resignation become positive, there would be real danger. Today we are greatly worried because of rumors such as: 'The Imperial Household Minister and

the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal do not agree,' or 'There seem to be some hidden misunderstanding.' Furthermore, the Grand Chamberlain is inexperienced, and if it becomes clear that the Prince is going to decline, the advisers will not be able to carry on." It seems that the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal and KIDO are of the same opinion and that their sincere desire is to have things remain as they are for awhile.

On the 17th I went to Okitsu and told the Prince: "I told KIDO: 'The Prince wished to decline to reply to Imperial inquiries. In short the Prince cannot actually comply with His Majesty's desires and does not meet people very often. First of all, he does not know the people. Because of his age, he desires the Emperor's permission to decline.'

"I asked him to consider this matter and KIDO said: 'In the present day situation that is impossible. I understand the motives of the Prince and sympathize with him, however, because the confidence of the Emperor is so profound, even to think about reporting this matter to him makes me sad. Furthermore, since there are movements to ruin the advisers and other rumors are flying about, if the matter of declining should become known, it would exert a great influence and the situation would become very hazardous for the advisers. For these reasons, please have the Prince endure a while longer.'"

To this the Prince replied: "Since it cannot be otherwise, it shall be left as is; however, I would like to have KIDO consider some solution. I do not wish to have this matter spread. The Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal should make the reply and it would be agreeable to

take part in the discussions. But the actual reply must be made by the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal. It seems as if I am being very selfish but I would like to have you think this matter over."

I also mentioned the incidents after the formation of the Cabinet and the cause for the rift between HAYASHI and HIRANUMA. I said: "It seems as if Premier HAYASHI has come to understand things gradually." To this the Prince said: "Not at all! A military man cannot really understand such things as the welfare of a nation or the welfare of a people."

He was greatly grieved over this, but he continued: "They advocate national unity but their national unity is not unity at all. It just means submission to them. The President of the Seiyukai is going to resign and set up an executive council. After I resigned from the presidency of the Seiyukai they said that I had set up an executive council but there was no such thing. To the Japanese such a system is not suitable. The English do such things well but it is very difficult for the French and the Japanese to do it." I reported upon the general situation and departed.

Early in the morning of the 18th I visited the Navy Vice-Minister, YAMAMOTO, at his official residence and we talked about the situation before and after the formation of the Cabinet. Vice-Minister YAMAMOTO said: "At the time of the political change, the Vice-Minister of War came over and said: 'The Army's principal point is dissolution. What is the Navy's opinion?' I replied: 'Dissolution may be all right but the Navy's prime request is that the budget be passed as soon as possible

and that then we proceed on matters of national defense. If there are any advantage in dissolution it would be all right but the same sort of thing will happen again. A new political party cannot be set up immediately and the start will only be delayed. That would be very troublesome. Therefore, the Navy does not desire a dissolution.'

"Furthermore, Vice-Minister of Home Affairs IZAWA came over at that time and asked for the general opinion of the Navy. I replied that the Navy did not have a general opinion, and he seemed very much surprised. Later an officer within the Ministry asked about the actions of the Navy Minister, so I replied: 'I do not even inquire into the actions of the Minister. There is no need to inquire into such matters that don't concern me.'

"There was nothing after that. However, Admiral FUJITA's name appeared in certain newspapers. He was never a problem. From the very outset Vice-Admiral YONAI was the first choice and Admiral SUETSUGU was not even considered. His Highness, the Chief of the Naval General Staff, was absolutely against Admiral SUETSUGU. If Admiral SUETSUGU were to come out there was fear of Navy personnel being swayed by Admiral KATO. If a HIRANUMA Cabinet were to be formed the Navy was concerned because there was fear of having Admiral SUETSUGU made the Navy Minister and they were prepared for this. However, when a HIRANUMA Cabinet did not materialize, there was great relief."

He went on: "At the time of the political change, Rear-Admiral HIRATA, an Aide-de-Camp, was scheduled for

a trip. However, this was cancelled. Rear-Admiral HIRATA directly reported the cancellation of his trip to the Emperor, and the Emperor asked: 'Hasn't something come up within the Navy?' The Admiral answered that there was nothing special. The Emperor seemed very relieved."

It seemed that the Vice-Minister of the Navy was well aware of the fact that because the Grand Chamberlain was inexperienced there was great excitement, and that it had even reached a point where the Emperor himself became worried.

When the Imperial command was given to Gen. UGAKI the Army immediately opposed him. While I was observing the general situation on the 1st and 2nd, a high-ranking detective came to see me at a hotel in Okitsu. I did not quite understand this, but later there was a call from the Board of Chamberlains which explained that he was a private messenger of the Grand Chamberlain.

The messenger brought a letter addressed to Prince SAIONJI and its contents were: "The Army has interfered with the exercise of the Imperial authority. This is a very unpardonable thing." It seemed that the Grand Chamberlain was very indignant over it. I heard more about this after my return; it was said that: "the Grand Chamberlain had told the Imperial Household Minister: 'If it is bad for me to do this and that, then I would desire to protect the Imperial authority even by resigning as the Grand Chamberlain.' There was great excitement and it was a difficult problem.

"The Emperor was quite concerned over the excited condition of the Grand Chamberlain and summoned the

Imperial Household Minister. The wife of the Imperial Household Minister was dispatched to the official residence of the Grand Chamberlain and advised the wife of the Grand Chamberlain: 'In order for him to sleep well keep everythin calm; how about some sleeping tablets?' The Emperor said: 'If he is so excitable, he will ruin hi health.' It seems that the Emperor is trying to pacify the Grand Chamberlain and I am overawed." I heard this story from one of the advisers to the Throne.

It seems that there was such talk between the Naval Aide, Rear-Admiral HIRATA, and the Navy Vice-Minister. He is a very good man, but inexperienced. Any adviser to the Throne should keep calm in any situation and not put any anxiety upon the Emperor. He should rather be of a nature that would comfort His Majesty. On the contrary, this had worried the Emperor and it had reached a point where His Majesty had said to calm down the excitement and this was very awesome.

In the afternoon of the 18th I went to pay my respects to former Premier HIROTA. He related some facts to me which indicated the direct causes of the resignation en bloc. He had not even mentioned these to his Cabinet colleagues. He said: "On the 22nd the War Minister cancelled his talk with the Navy Minister by saying: 'I cannot speak directly with the Navy Minister. It is impossible.' Instead of this the Vice-Minister of the Navy was sent to the Vice-Minister of War and said: 'Please hurry in the matter of setting up of the budget without dissolution....' This entirely changed the nature of the situation and my chief concern was that it would become very critical if the War and Navy Ministers

were to conflict at the Cabinet Conference; therefore I decided upon resignation en bloc."

There was quite an attack upon the military by OZAKI, Yukio in the House of Representatives on the 17th; it did not have much influence upon the military, that is publicly, but it appears to have deep significance.

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Chapter 232-233
(12 March 1937)
(19 March 1937)

Politics Without Purpose

Translated by Mr. Haruo Kawashima

This is not because OZAKI represents a large party but because, from the military standpoint, it seems as though the only "earmarked" person is saying something. It was aggravating but not worth special notice, the attitude taken by the Army. After that, in the House of Representatives, in regard to the problem of the budget, the balance to be carried over was the subject of much controversy. However, political parties did not push their views vigorously nor say that it was absolutely unconstitutional, nor did they try to prevent it from passing. Then too the Government, not wanting to make too much of a problem out of it, evidently had thought it over quite thoroughly. Political parties, rather than fighting over this problem, were naturally stressing the establishment of a farmer's fund. The political parties, with the aim of establishing firm contacts with farming villages, are stressing this with great fervor. Of course the former funds of hundreds of millions of yen will not be available, but in any event about 70 million yen is the goal the political parties are aiming at. All political parties were quite diligent in their efforts to get this from the Government. The question in regard to the resignation of the Seiyukai President, which had raised previously, was gradually coming to the fore again. In line with this the question of a new party arose.

MITSUNO, Tsuruhei wanted to see me so I had him come

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to my house. MATSUNO said: "I heard that the Emperor asked that a new party be formed. Is that a fact?" I said: "For what reason do you ask such a thing?" He said: "It is said that ex-Premier HIROTA told former Railway Minister MAEDA, and if that is the case some thought must be given to it."

After he said this in a matter-of-fact tone I said: "Perhaps the Emperor may be dissatisfied with the lack of conscience and the frivolity of the present parties; that is the feeling held by the whole population of the country. However, there is nothing to show that the Emperor said: "Establish a new party." That issue does not depend upon whether the Emperor said or didn't say such a thing. Isn't it an issue that political parties should think about?"

That afternoon I called on ex-Premier HIROTA. I asked him whether or not the Emperor had expressed his desire for the establishment of a new party. HIROTA said: "It was not an express desire of the Emperor but when I was in office ex-Railway Minister UCHIDA was brought up for prosecution; when I went to get the Imperial sanction the Emperor said: 'It is distressing that political parties should be so frivolous. I want to do away with such conditions.' So I said: 'I think that perhaps to have Prince KONOYE himself organize a new party would be the proper means of creating a new atmosphere.' Thus the fact is that I mentioned the idea to the Emperor. There was absolutely no hint from the Emperor to the effect of establishing a new party." Such being the talk and understanding very well I returned home.

After that Gen. NOMURA came to my home and said: "This is something I heard from ex-Navy Minister NAGANO. The Navy Minister at a Cabinet meeting called Railway Minister MAT[illegible] into a separate room and asked: 'Is the Seiyukai going to oppose the budget?" After confirming this the Navy Minister did everything in his power to have the budget passed and was basically against the dissolution. Furthermore, the Navy Minister called NAKAJIMA, Chikuhei to the conference of war councillors and asked him whether or not it was possible to establish a new party. The Navy Minister asked: "After the establishment of the new party will it support the HIROTA Cabinet?" To which NAKAJIMA, Chikuhei replied: "A new party is far from being established and if it were established I am not sure that it would support the HIROTA Cabinet."

The Navy Minister then decided that the dissolution would have no meaning and would not be effected for some time to come. And if possible he (Navy Minister) had hopes of presenting the War Minister with the possibility of the establishment of a new party and with a promise that the new party would support the HIROTA Cabinet. Being unable to accomplish this, his meeting the War Minister did not seem to have any point."

Gen. NOMURA continued: "At that time Navy Minister NAGANO went to see the Presidents of both parties. But as the Navy Minister he wanted the Presidents to come to see him at his official residence and naturally asked them to come. As he was unable to get them to do so, he finally went to see them."

The Diet dickered with various problems and mean-

while the necessity of finding an Education Minister quickly arose. KIWARADA and Communications Minister KODAMA persisted in asking: "How about KURODA, Chohei of Koseikai or OKABE, Choju of Kenkyukai?" But Baron IWAKURA came and said: "If he (Education Minister) is to be chosen from the House of Peers it would be better to take somebody outside of the Kenkyukai. And when it comes to somebody outside (Kenkyukai) then naturally the selection points to KURODA."

When I took sick and before coming to Oiso on February 23rd I had lunch with KONOYE and he said: "KURODA doesn't know the world. He is a so-called feudal type who would be disgraceful to present. It is better not to think of him. I want to warn you on that." Arriving at Oiso I spoke to Finance Minister YUKI and Communications Minister KODAMA about it (the talk I had with KONOYE). KODAMA asked: "The next time you go to the Prince's place will you ask the opinion of the Prince?" KODAMA continued: "In regard to Prince CHICHIBU's going to the British Coronation this time I want to have some suitable politician accompany him for the promotion of Anglo-Japanese goodwill. What do you think?" And he further said: "A battleship is going to be despatched and the Government will be forced to provide additional funds anyway so I would like to send a reputable politician."

On the morning of the 4th I called on the Prince at Okitsu and while making reports upon various matters I spoke to him about KODAMA's talk. The Prince said: "It is not that I am strongly opposed to the actions of the Government but if my opinion were asked I would

think that sending a politician would be overdoing things. When the fundamental questions in Anglo-Japanese relations are not yet clarified sending people haphazardly is going to complicate things just that much more. I do not think that this is for the good of either party. I think that it would be better that this visit be regarded solely as an Imperial Household formality."

Just as I reached Okitsu on the 3rd there was a phone call from the Prince's place to my inn, to the following effect: "Ambassador SATO phoned and said that he has something urgent that he wants to talk to you about; he wants you to phone him immediately." I phoned Ambassador SATO and it so happened that I was able to talk to him and he said: "Negotiations have been opened for me to become Foreign Minister and I have talked this over with the Premier and the War Minister. It has come to a stage where somebody has to accept, so perhaps I may accept but...." As for myself, knowing that it was necessary to have a full-time Foreign Minister without delay and knowing that if he were to be Ambassador SATO it would surely be all right, I said: "It is a difficult job but by all means accept it." And in answer he said: "Please give my very best regards to the Prince." I hung up.

During the course of the conversation, and realizing that I was slightly out-reaching myself, I warned him by saying: "You have not been in Japan for a long time so you will perhaps not understand various conditions. In regard to them it would be better for you to talk them over thoroughly with some suitable

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person."

Two or three days before, KONOYE had phoned me and asked: "How would it be to make TOKUGAWA, Iyemasa Foreign Minister and SHIRATORI Vice-Minister. I want you to ask War Minister SUGIYAMA whether or not such selections would be approved by the Army."

I thought that I would ask War Minister SUGIYAMA through Ex-Foreign Minister ARITA; when I phoned ARITA, he said: "I do not want to act as the go-between for such a thing so I refuse." So I informed KONOYE regarding the actual circumstances. And withing two or three days, on the 3rd, Ambassador SATO was invested with the office of Foreign Minister.

On the night of the 4th after I returned from Okitsu to Oiso, Gen. TARAUCHI came to see me and talked of various things. Gen. TARAUCHI and other high officials evidently were completely unaware of the actions of Col. ISHIHARA. Evidently Col. ISHIHARA, in speaking to his superiors, made it a point to speak only of matters pertaining to his own duties.

On the 6th, having some business of my own to attend to in Tokyo, I returned. Gen. NOMURA came to see me and said: "I was called by the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal and asked to become the Principal of the Peers' School. I am in receipt of very prudent and courteous proposals but I don't know what to do. I am thinking it over. How is the Peers' School?" So I said: "For certain reasons it is desired to improve (the school) The Crown Prince is matriculating, and there is the education of members of the Imperial family. Why not accept it without reserve?"

Politics Without Purpose

I requested an audience with Prince CHICHIBU before his departure. His reply was: "Come at 1:30 P.M. on the 6th." Meeting him at 1:30 I spoke of political changes of the time. And because numerous false stories are going to the Prince I spoke to him of the various conditions, whereupon he said: "It is said that the proposal made to political parties by the Navy Minister was by instruction of the Grand Chamberlain. How about it?" I said: "There is absolutely no such thing. I believe that it is a rumor for someone's advantage."

I furthermore stated to the Prince: "Your Highness is a person of very great importance, so if you are not prudent hereafter it will be distressing. You must especially resolve to be of aid to the Emperor. Although Your Highness has an Army commission the duties of a Major are not Your Highness's only duties. Aside from your military duties, for you to meddle with politics or perhaps other matters is most unwise. To have a broad viewpoint and to watch all the movements of the world are primary. Unless you have the worries of the Nation at your finger tip at all times and are prepared to be a speaking companion of the Emperor it will be distressing. Also you must do everything with honesty and never go about anything dishonestly or that too will be distressing. Even a person such as myself who is the secretary to SAIONJI, considering my duties from an overall point of view - for instance if something regarding military affairs comes up - must always refer (the matter) to the War and Navy Ministers. If in regard to the Imperial Household Ministry, to the Imperial Household Minister, if in regard to the Cabinet, to the Premier.

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And unless you talk with the heads, that is the administrative chiefs of various Ministries, or perhaps with the Ministers of State, there will be a disruption of organization not only in the Army but outside of the Army. For instance there will be a capable Lt. Colonel or Colonel, and in the case of an important situation, to talk with him to settle an issue is actually to disrupt control and to be disloyal to the Emperor. Perhaps Your Highness will have a dislike for that Minister or think that this Administrative official is insolent, but let those people who hold the reins of organization and who are in the higher positions hold the responsibility. So unless you talk to the top men you are calling for extreme discord and encouraging the principal officials to shirk responsibility. I believe that it is important for Your Highness to have a broad understanding and to be on good terms with the responsible men so that you can talk with them freely at all times." Requesting his presence at a farewell banquet (in honor of His Highness) the following night I then took leave.

I spoke to the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal over the phone that night about the talk I had with Prince CHICHIBU, and the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal said that he also had been called by Prince CHICHIBU two or three days ago and been told: "Let's hear the conditions at the time of the political change." He said that: "After talking to him of the various conditions I took leave. But the Grand Chamberlain used the Navy Minister against me for a purpose. That is he (Prince CHICHIBU) asked whether the dissolution had been evaded. And I

replied: 'There is absolutely no truth in that story.' So saying the Lord Keeper said that he took his leave.

On the night of the 7th at the Sumitomo detached house a farewell banquet was given in honor of their Imperial Highnesses Prince and Princess CHICHIBU. Prince and Princess TAKAMATSU, along with KONOYE, KIDO, HOSOKAWA, OKABE, SAKAI and their wives were present from 6:30 to about 11:30. The conversation ranged over many topics.

Yesterday when I went to Prince CHICHIBU's place I relayed the Prince's greetings so when they (Prince and Princess CHICHIBU) were leaving they said: "Extend our regards to the Prince."

In the March 1st Army shift, Military Affairs Section chief CHOJIRI became a military Aide-de-Camp and went into the Palace, and the Chief of the Military Affairs Bureau ISOYA, not so much liked by the younger group, was made a Division Commander. Major General USHIROKU was made Chief of the Military Affairs Bureau. In the words of Gen. TERAUCHI: "The relations between the War Ministry, the Chief of the Military Affairs Bureau, and those below Vice-Ministers will now go very smoothly. There will be no shoving around about this or that by youngsters."

According to some person it is said: "The installment of Colonel CHOJIRI in the Palace as a military aide-de-camp occurred because he is greatly trusted. In the future, when a military government is set up, in preparation for his direct reports to the Emperor, CHOJIRI was put in."

I have repeatedly said this; Col. ISHIHARA handles

Gen. SUGIYAMA and Gen. TERAUCHI very cleverly by mentioning nothing aside from military duties. Perhaps he keeps in step with younger men under him by saying: "ITAGAKI must be made the War Minister." At the same time to his superior, Gen. TERAUCHI: "I do not have the slightest thought of such a thing. I do not even dream of making ITAGAKI a minister." That is what Gen. TERAUCHI said Col. ISHIHARA said to him directly.

After this political change Lt. Col. KATAKURA and others were apologizing for the course taken to AOKI, Vice-Chief of the Manchurian Affairs Bureau. Editors of the Asahi Shimbun were also approached and told the actual facts of the time: "It is not that the Army says that UGAKI is absolutely unacceptable but that the time when the Army is being reduced is slightly too early." This is what reporters of the Asahi said that he (KATAKURA) was publicizing with emphasis. Furthermore it cannot be denied that at the time of the political change, ASHIHARA of the Proletarians got together with Lt. Col. KATAKURA and maneuvered through various connections.

On the night of the 13th Baron IWAKURA came to Oiso and said: "At the budget general meeting Viscount OHKOCHI questioned the Army in regard to the position of the Soviet Army in Siberia. But it was decided to talk about the subject at the secret meeting on the budget the following day. On the morning of the 13th the Chief of the Military Affairs Bureau started to explain but INOUYE, Kyoshiro stood up and said: 'As regards the strengthening of Soviet armaments in Siberia, the cause lies in the bad attitude of the Japanese

Army at the time. Basically it was the fact that, in War Minister ARAKI's time, the Japanese Army took various unnecessary positions along the Soviet-Manchurian border, which stimulated them (Soviets) to such measures.'

Whereupon the Chief of the Military Affairs Bureau, greatly angered, said: 'Your understanding is fundamentally wrong.'

"Following this five or six committee members put various questions to the Army to which the Chief of the Military Affairs Bureau replied: 'That is something regarding the powers of the supreme command, so I cannot reply', or: 'That relates to a military secret so I cannot reply.' By so doing he 'clipped everything in the bud' and scarcely added anything to what was in the newspapers. Therefore I (TAKURA) not able to restrain myself any longer said to the Chief of the Military Affairs Bureau: 'That is an extremely insolent attitude. Here we are at the budget general meeting discussing the pros and cons of a huge national defense budget. We cannot merely agree without hearing reasons. Since it is going to be a very heavy burden on the people I think that it should be discussed with great care. When we ask various questions and receive for an answer that it is against the powers of the supreme command, or is a military secret, or other evasive replied it is an insult to the House of Peers. In contrast to this the Navy comes forth with the Minister himself and explains various things in detail. In one case, where the Navy was keeping a heavy cannon a top-secret he (Navy Minister) permitted observance of an actual firing. We indeed admire that attitude. But the Army, even the time

before, when ARAKI was the War Minister, at the committee meeting for the Army budget came forth with a captain to explain things while the Chief of the Military Affairs Bureau sat by and looked on. And at that time also the Chief of the Military Affairs Bureau said he could not explain so I said: 'Bring the War Minister himself.' And it so happened that War Minister ARAKI came and asked: 'What is this about?' Then, explaining in part the cause of controversy, War Minister ARAKI said: 'I shall do the explaining.' So the issue finally subsided without mishap but at that time the irritation went so far as almost to cancel discussion of the budget.

"'To say that something is the prerogative of the supreme command or is something else of the supreme command and to evade issues by not speaking freely is, if the worst view be taken, equivalent to referring the responsibility to the Emperor. In which case the people would be betraying the Emperor and blaspheming him. So unless the Army itself does not watch its step carefully it will be very distressing.' Upon his saying this very angrily, the War Minister, unable to bear it any longer, kicked aside his chair, stood up and said: 'What Baron IWAKURA has just said is indeed very true. It is indeed very regrettable. The Army will study it further. The preparations for China are not yet completed, so in regard to subjects related to the position of our armaments in China, I am not ready to explain to you as yet. So I would like to excuse myself for today.' So saying, the War Minister very courteously tried to end the scene.

"But I said: 'The Army's attitude is insolent'. And at the same time relative to the attitude of newspaper firms recently I have given them a word of warning. This was: 'For instance, newspaper articles referring to diplomacy which may have a very important bearing on the integrity of the nation are written very carelessly. Why doesn't the Minister of Justice or the Home Minister warn them. In Japan 1800 yen fines against newspapers are the heaviest penalties that can be applied. So newspapers are in all probability saying: 'That is a mere nothing.'

"I (IWAKURA) believe that it was in London that a newspaper wrote up a secret that was detrimental to the integrity of the nation. The Government at that time imposed a two million pound fine on that paper, and the firm finally folded up. Such an example can be seen in England, therefore in Japan a similar stiff penalty should be established to control newspapers a little better."

Baron IWAKURA stayed over one night (at Oiso) and returned to Tokyo.

On the 14th, as Ambassador SATO was not yet accustomed to the conditions here in Japan proper, reservations were made at Hoshigaoka through Prince KONOYE where KONOYE, ICHIJO, IWAKURA, OKURA and others were to discuss various topics.

On the morning of the 15th I went to Okitsu and met the Prince. I told him what I was able to learn of developments in the Diet session. I also spoke of various matters related to Prince CHICHIBU's trip (to the Coronation) and told all about the audience I had with

him. Whereupon the Prince asked: "What did Prince CHICHIBU have to say?" So I said: "His Highness just kept quiet and listened and afterward said: 'Thank you very much for everything. I understand very well.'"

Then the Prince said: "The time for members of the Imperial Family to take up military posts is the critical time; then the Army will realize that it is the Emperor's Army. In other words it is always understood that members of the Imperial Family are the Emperor's allies. For this reason to place them in military posts will naturally tend to make the Army act as the Emperor's Army, which of course is the main aim. In various cases, for members of the Imperial Family to carry out the Emperor's wishes readily and effectively - that is to be under the direct command of His Imperial Majesty - is the way to express their allegiance."

Then I said: "Premier HAYASHI has nothing particular to tell you. But he did say he wanted to terminate the Diet session without mishap." The Prince said: "That fellow HAYASHI evidently has some personality somewhere. Look how he is getting along." Then he asked: "What is KIDO doing?" Such was the trend of the conversation and without discussing any particularly grave problems I took leave that day and returned to Oiso.

On the 16th word came from Tokyo that some eighty draft bills are standing still in the House of Representatives so that the House of Peers cannot start its session nor beyond that start the regular session. I phoned Finance Minister YUKI and said: "If the Government mischievously pokes the House of Representatives the present group of members of the lower house will

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just be peeved and probably say: 'We won't be represented by a Minister.' It would indeed be very small of them but it would certainly expose the disgrace. It would be better to leave problems to the House of Peers alone. How would it be for you to have the less politically oriented House of Peers slap down a lower house that feels disregard for the two house system?" And I added: "Speaking of the House of Peers, how would it be to have someone like IWAKURA do the dirty work?"

I phoned IWAKURA and asked him about the situation on the 18th and also about the talk on the draft bills that were being held up in the House of Representatives and how to get them rolling. In regard to these problems IWAKURA seemed to have several good ideas. So on the morning of the 17th I spoke of this to the Chief Secretary (of the Cabinet) over the phone.

On the morning of the 19th I spoke to Vice Navy Minister YAMAMOTO over the phone and he said: "At present there are no special problems. If anything comes up I'll phone you."

Having some business with the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal I phoned him and he said: "The House of Representatives isn't purposely holding up the draft bills. Circumstances are responsible for the block."

If I may say so the perspective of the Lord Keeper is governed by Imperial nominees slightly tinged with Minseito (thinking). He gives one a feeling that he is implicated a little too deeply. And having gotten a feeling that he is slightly insincere I am thinking of talking it over some time with the Chief Secretary (to the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal, MATSUDAIRA).

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Chapter 234
(29 March 1937)

Unfathomable Army

Translated by Mr. Haruo Kawashima

On the 21st IKEDA, President of the Bank of Japan, was at his suburban home in Oiso and phoned me that he was coming to see me a little after 3:00 o'clock. It so happened that it was more convenient for me to go to see him during the morning. And when I called on him in the morning he said: "Since joining up with the Bank of Japan I have made various studies, and whatever may be said former President INOUYE accomplished a great deal." He praised the late INOUYE highly. During the conversation it was also stated that SAKAMOTO, former commander of the Tokyo Kempeitai, was now going to join the Hoichi Shimbun. And according to him (SAKAMOTO) judging from talk within the Army a condition of confusion is increasing with no controlling faction or leading faction everything is topsy-turvy. Since IKEDA was greatly worried about conditions within the Army, and since I knew that he could hear from men who had close contacts with various influential people and with certain military men and might become a partisan, I said to him: "The former commander of the Kempeitai, SAKAMOTO, is a very good-natured man. This being the case, young officers are always playing jokes on him. It is said also that certain men in other quarters are trying to use him to advantage. And according to what I have heard 'the situation (within the Army) is gradually calming down', which is a very good sign. And if you know ARAKI, Kazuo, the Vice-Minister of the Bureau of

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Manchurian Affairs, I think that you will get quite accurate information in regard to military affairs by asking him personally or inquiring through him. In AOKI's office he uses a number of influential officers. And some of these men are included among his followers. Moreover he has some very solid connections with the Army General Staff. Therefore I think that he is the most suitable person to consult."

After saying this I returned home and phoned AOKI, and said: "I think that it would be well to keep IKEDA, President of the Bank of Japan, and Finance Minister YUKI well-informed on things, especially in regard to happenings within the Army." AOKI was of the same opinion and said: "Hereafter, I will exert my efforts for this. The condition of the War Ministry appears to have improved considerably. From the general appearance of things it is calming down appreciably."

That evening a reporter from the Tokyo Nichi Nichi came and said: "Recently, when I met Major Gen. ISHIHARA of the General Staff, he said that at the time of the political change UGAKI did not have to be reprimanded so severely. The Army went that far but it did not have to. And according to what I am told by reporters who go to the War Ministry, the attitude within the Army has changed greatly; especially within the War Ministry things have calmed down."

That night I met Gen. TERAUCHI at Oiso and he too was very optimistic and said: "If Gen. MAZAKI is found guilty something will arise in the Army again." Having listened to what I had heard at IKEDA's place he said: "I firmly believe that no such thing is possible."

On the morning of the 24th I spoke with Minister of Communications KODAMA over the phone and he said: "I think that it would be well to keep the Diet in session a little longer, perhaps to draw it out four or five days." I then phoned Chief Secretary OHASHI and asked him about conditions and he said: "Evidently a number of bills are being held up in the House of Representatives, which is causing some trouble. However, things are moving a little faster than previously." He added: "There are no particular changes at present."

After this Baron IWAKURA phoned me and said: "I met MATSUNO of the Seiyukai and he said that the establishment of a new party is evidently temporarily out of the question. And furthermore, the relations of the political parties and the Government are not very good." In regard to the Kenkyukai of the House of Peers he said: "There is a split within the Kenkyukai and it is not working smoothly."

I then spoke over the phone with KURIYAMA of the Foreign Office and he said: "There is no particular change to speak of in regard to diplomatic affairs at present. But the problem of settling the perpetual leases is before the Privy Council; I think it will be decided tomorrow." Aside from this there was no talk of particular importance.

Then I phoned MATSUDAIRA, Chief Secretary to the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal and he said: "Col. CHOJIRI, after becoming an Aide-de-Camp to His Majesty, is evidently working as hard as ever, but one of these nights we will get together with the former Aide-de-Camp, Major

Gen. NAKAJIMA and talk over conditions of the political change. If it is said that the Army is divided it looks as though the two factions are gradually emphasizing (two policies), one for a broad policy of national defense and the other for a narrow policy of national defense."

I then phoned and asked the Chief of the Police Bureau (Home Ministry) but he replied only: "There are no particular changes. I am very busy with the Diet."

Then I phoned and talked with HISHIKOTO, Commander of the Kempeitai, and he said: "The Army is calming down to a great extent but in certain quarters it is rumored that a second M.G.T. incident may occur."

On the night of the 24th I went to Okitsu and on the morning of the 25th, before going to the Prince's place, I had a talk over the phone with Communications Minister KODAMA and he said: "I believe that the budget discussion in the House of Peers will be completed on the 28th; for this reason the Diet will continue in session four or five days longer. This will be decided this afternoon. It looks as though matters are proceeding smoothly in general."

Then I phoned to Home Minister KAWADA and he said: "There are no particular changes. The Diet will evidently continue for four or five days."

Then I went to the Prince's place and gave him a general report of the occurrences during the last few days, whereupon the Prince said: "According to the newspapers the Premier, on his return from paying his respects at Ise Monoyama, will pay me a visit. And there is a long letter from Finance Minister YUKI in which he

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says: "When the Diet adjourns I will come to see you." The Imperial Household Minister and KONOYE also say that they want to see me. I haven't answered these yet but I want you to say to these people, especially the Premier, that I am very sorry but my health is not very good yet, so I would like to have the meetings postponed a little."

The Prince having said this I told the Premier, the Finance Minister, the Imperial Household Minister and Prince KONOYE: "The Prince wants to see you within a short time but his condition is not very good and the doctor says for him not to see anybody for a while, so he is very sorry but he would like to postpone seeing you. If there is any business to discuss, I want you to talk to me." And in the conversation over the phone with the Premier he was deeply sorry and said: "Please extend my wishes to him for a speedy recovery. I will arrange another date."

The Diet Session was to be extended six days to the 31st. And the additional budget was to have passed the House of Peers on the 29th. On the 28th Baron IWAKURA came to Oiso and at that time he said: "This coming budget is very large and extremely important, therefore the speech for approval cannot be left to HIRANUMA of Kenkyukai alone. So ICHIJO of Kayokai will also make a speech and his manuscript will be looked over carefully by HOSOKAWA. For Koseikai negotiations are being carried on with General ABO. In regard to such an important and especially large budget I think it is good that extreme care be taken. So even if it should take a little extra time it is desirable that these three men make the speeches."

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Chapter 235
(9 April 1937)

Dissolution of the Diet

Translated by Mr. Haruo Kawashima

On the morning of the 31st I looked at the newspapers and read that at the Cabinet meeting on the 30th the Navy Minister had been extremely agitated. So I phoned Finance Minister YUKI to inquire of the situation and he said: "The general attitude of the House of Representatives is extremely lacking in sincerity. The budget was passed but important bills such as that in regard to the taxation of steel were completely snowed under. Furthermore the fact that manipulation was applied to the election reform laws has aroused the Government's antipathy. It is not good to associate with groups so lacking in sincerity. A little more sincerity must be obtained, therefore the dissolution was carried out."

It looked as though some 60 out of the 80 or more bills were left unpassed.

I then said to the Finance Minister: "There are often craft politicians who may appear to respect the Emperor's injunction: 'try as much as possible to avoid friction between the military and the citizens and try not to arouse feelings.' I heard at the Cabinet meeting talk to the effect that the Premier had been consulted the time before too. It was just natural that the Diet should be dissolved but it was rumored about that dissolution was not the wish of the Emperor. Therefore it finally ended up without a dissolution.

"When compelled to ask for permission to dissolve the Government is permitted by its powers under the

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Constitution to do so, which as a matter of fact will clear everything up. According to what the Prince once said: 'At the time of the previous Cabinet they too resolved to dissolve the Diet which would clarify things and be for the better.' There are people who are wont to say, just to avert dissolution that the wishes of the Emperor are so and so, or that the Genro wishes as much as possible a sound way. Unless you act cautiously you may be hoodwinked."

Having said this to the Finance Minister, he at the time seemed to be resolved and said: "I understand very well."

About 9:00 o'clock in the morning there was a phone call from the Premier and I related about the same things (as I had said to the Finance Minister) to him, whereupon the Premier said: "The Government has already made its decision." The Premier entered the Palace about 9:30 A.M. and solicited the rescript for dissolution and finally obtained sanction for it. The night before the Cabinet had been dickering on this and that until about 2:00 o'clock in the morning and had thus created such an atmosphere. It was then decided to resume the Cabinet meeting at 9:00 o'clock in the morning. Before that it seems as though the Premier phoned my place and then called the Cabinet meeting, where it was decided to dissolve (the House of Representatives). Then he (Premier) entered the Palace and reported to the Emperor and returned at 9:30 and called another Cabinet meeting and at 10:45 A.M. the Imperial rescript for dissolution was announced.

It so happened that KIDO and MATSUDAIRA, Chief

Secretary to the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal, were coming to see me about noon and while waiting for them to come I received a phone call from the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal saying: "Please tell the Prince that the House of Representatives has been dissolved." Then KIDO and MATSUDAIRA arrived and when I asked them about the situation they both said: "The dissolution was a very good thing," and: "The Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal also said: 'They have finally done it', and so saying was very well pleased."

On the morning of the 1st I spoke with the Home Minister over the phone and he too said: "It has finally turned out this way but it could not be helped. I will try to do something about it." Otherwise there were no particular changes. On the 2nd I spoke with the Foreign Minister over the phone and he said: "It is urgent that easy problems be cleared up one by one. And I am resolved to clear up important problems also one at a time. For instance, such special problems as foreign trade or air-lanes will gradually be cleared up, thereby establishing the basic relations between Japan and China, and a means of adjustment of the national treasury. By such means I hope to meet this crisis."

According to KURIYAMA, Chief of the Treaty Bureau: "In regard to the North China Problem, the administrative bureaus of the War and Navy Ministries are at present holding various talks. And in general it looks as though the situation is taking a turn for the better. So I believe that it would be desirable to tell this to the Prince."

Dissolution of the Diet

On the morning of April 2nd I met the Prince and spoke to him in general about the circumstances of the dissolution and various other developments of the past several days, especially in regard to the Foreign Minister and what KURIYAMA had said regarding Sino-Japanese relations. The Prince seemed to think the dissolution a good thing and said: "I don't want it to be said that the Government was encouraged too much or anything of that nature, so I want you to tell the Premier: 'I reported it to him'. And in regard especially to KONOYE being made the president of the new party, I can't possibly believe that he will accept but he may feel obliged to do so. If my wishes are to be granted I think that it would be better for him not to come forth just at present. However, to aid the Government, why can't he remain in the background and do so?" Then in regard to his meeting KIDO, the Prince said: "I will endeavor to meet KIDO sometime."

On the afternoon of the 5th, meeting KONOYE at the Kuwana, I learned that he had been talking with such men as MAEDA, Yonezo. He (KONOYE) said: "Political parties are very unconstitutional", and added: "If a new party had been formed by now I intend to join but now it is impossible to say this or that about the formation of a new party. Political parties are too unorthodox." And so saying KONOYE was enraged.

In reply to his question about what the Prince had said, I said: "The Prince did not have anything particular to say but he was downhearted over the frivolity of present-day political parties, which are so unconcerned and so lacking in sincerity. For this

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reason since the time of the previous Cabinet he was saying: 'Why shouldn't there be a dissolution?' Therefore in regard to a dissolution he was evidently taking it for granted. And he evidently is not very enthusiastic about your becoming president of the new party. However, he was saying: 'From the standpoint of aiding the Government by your endeavors to break down obstruction that is only natural."

Then I said: "Don't oppose the political parties too much and get into serious straits." To which KONOYE replied: "I cannot state anything definite during the dissolution until after the results are seen. It is definite that the influence of ready-made political parties will be greater. So as a matter of fact there is nothing to do but await the results before making plans. There is no use touching it now."

On the 6th I returned from Kuwana to Oiso. And on the night of the 8th I met TERAUCHI and he said: "The political parties are rather peeved about this dissolution but it would have been better to have had it before. When I was made the War Minister, who was it that ventured to recommend me?" I replied: "Wasn't it somebody like SUGIYAMA? I heard something to that effect." Whereupon he said: "Oh yes." And he went on to say: "The other day I heard from somebody that Prince CHICHIBU before his departure called some young officers in the middle of the night, a Major or Lt. Col. OKAMOTO and some other person. For him to do such a thing is very inappropriate."

Thinking back I remembered that when KIDO came the other day, he too said: "Before Prince CHICHIBU departed

two young officers called on him, awoke him and met him. After that the Commander of the Kempeitai put in a request for an audience with the Prince (CHICHIBU). Whereupon Attendant IMAMURA asked: "What shall we do?' So I (KIDO) said: 'Naturally it is a good thing for him (Prince CHICHIBU) to meet the Commander of the Kempeitai. For him to meet various different people freely is good. And because he is gradually becoming steadfast he should meet people steadily, whereby he will make his own judgments. He (Commander) should be permitted to meet him (Prince CHICHIBU). But what it was about I (KIDO) have not yet asked him."

According to TERAUCHI, the situation in the Army as a whole is very good. And TERAUCHI repeatedly asked: "Why doesn't UGAKI become the leader of the new party."

So I said: "Why the other day wasn't it on account of such a thing that he was disqualified?" Whereupon he (TERAUCHI) replied: "No, if the case should be such, he has already notified the War Minister that he wishes to forfeit his rank; therefore if it is for such a reason I can relay the request.(to become the leader of the new party).

When I went previously TERAUCHI kept saying: "I did a very hard thing to UGAKI." But owing to various other previous circumstances it was rather vague to me to what extent he meant what he said.

On the morning of the 9th I talked with the Finance Minister over the phone about how I had met KONOYE and the Finance Minister said: "After coming back from the Kwansai, in order to put into effect various definite

plans, we are holding Cabinet meetings every day. Sometime when you come to Tokyo, I want to have a long talk with you."

When I spoke with the Premier over the phone on the 7th, he said; "I am going to call on Prince KONOYE on the 8th and am hoping to talk to him from various angles."

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